

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 0448

NODIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARAGRAPH 7 & CAPTION "NODIS" ADDED)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM BRIAN ATWOOD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OREP (ZABLOCKI, CLEMENT J)
SUBJ: YOUR JERUSALEM MEETING WITH CODE ZABLOCKI, JAN 16

1. YOU WILL BE MEETING WITH A DEL WHICH WILL HAVE BEEN FULLY EXPOSED TO THE MIDDLE EAST SCENE; A DEL WHICH TO A SIGNIFICANT DEGREE HAS BEEN A PARTICIPANT IN THE POLITICAL MANEUVERING IN THE AREA FOLLOWING THE SADAT VISIT. THIS GROUP HAD HEARD PRACTICALLY THE FULL SPECTRUM, FROM SYRIAN FONMIN KADDAM TO KING HUSSEIN, SADAT, CROWN PRINCE FAHD, AND PRIMIN BEGIN (WHO THE GROUP WILL MEET ON SUNDAY). THEY WILL WANT TO SHARE THEIR PERCEPTIONS. A STRONG CONSENSUS HAS DEVELOPED ON THIS TRIP THAT TURNING BACK FROM JERUSALEM--TO QYOTE YOUR L.A. SPEECH WHICH MOST MEMBER HAVE READ--WOULD LEAD TO A RADICALIZATION OF THE ARAB WORLD AND INEVITABLY TO WAR.

3. MEMBERS ARE ANXIOUS TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS OF THE SITUATION AND TO GAIN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE TACTICS THE US WILL EMPLOY TO ACHIEVE A POSITIVE RESULT. CLEM ZABLOCKI AND BILL BROOMFIELD HAVE QUOTED THE PRESIDENT'S ASWAN PRINCIPLES AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY AND HAVE BEEN VERY SUPPORTIVE THROUGHOUT.

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4. THE DEL HAS HEARD THE ARAB PLEA FOR U.S. ACCEPTANCE OF THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. MOST SEEM TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT THAT PALESTINIANS SHOULD "PARTICIPATE IN THE DETERMINATION OF THEIR OWN FUTURE" IS A STEP TOWARD COM-PROMISE ON THE DIFFICULT ISSUE. THERE MAY, HOWEVER, BE SOME LINGERING CONFUSION OVER WHAT SADAT NEEDS AND WHAT HE IS NEGOT-

IATING. AN EXPLANATION OF HIS AND OUR GOALS IN NEGOTIATING A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND THE PROBABLE NEED FOR AMBIGUITY IN SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD--ENHANCE APPRECIATION FOR THE PROCESS.

5. WITH 2 POSSIBLE EXCEPTIONS, THE GROUP SEEMS PREPARED TO EXPRESS CONCERN AND DISAPPOINTMENT TO THE ISRAELI GOVT OVER WHAT THEY PERCEIVE TO BE INTRANSIGENCE AND A FAILURE TO MATCH SADAT'S INITIATIVE. SOME EVEN ENCOURAGED THE SHAH TO USE HIS INFLUENCE TO ACHIEVE A CHANGE IN ISRAELI ATTITUDES. ZABLOCKI, IN PARTICULAR, WILL WANT YOUR ADVICE ON HOW HARD HE SHOULD PUSH PUBLICLY. YOU MAY WISH TO SPEAK TO HIM PRIVATELY, EITHER JUST BEFORE OR AFTER THE MEETING WITH THE FULL DEL.

6. YOU MAY ALSO WISH TO SPEAK PRIVATELY TO JACK BINGHAM AND DANTE FASCELL WHOSE CREDENTIALS ARE SUCH THAT THEY MIGHT HAVE AN IMPACT ON ISRAELI THINKING. BINGHAM, WHOSE COMMENTS HAVE BEEN SUPPORTIVE OF ISRAEL THROUGHOUT, INDICATED IN OUR MEETING WITH KING HUSSEIN THAT HE FELT QUOTE THE ISRAELI RESPONSE (TO SADAT) HAS BEEN TO NEGATIVE AND THIS WORRIES ME UNQUOTE.

7. THREE FACTORS ARE IMPORTANT TO THESE MEMBERS AND SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED: (1) THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT NOW PART OF THE PEACE PROCESS BUT STANDS TO GAIN IF SADAT FAILS; (2) THE PLO, POLITICALLY UNPOPULAR IN THE U.S., IS LIKEWISE NOT INVOLVED (PAUL FINDLEY, WHO ALONG WITH HELEN MEYNER AND LARRY WINN MET WITH ARAFAT IN DAMASCUS, IS PRACTICALLY ALONE IN THE FEELING THEY SHOULD BE INVOLVED; AND CONFIDENTIAL

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(3) BY PREFERENCE THE U.S. DOES NOT SUPPORT THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINAIN STATE. ON THE LAST POINT, THE GROUP HAS HEARD, SOME EVIDENCE THAT THE PALESTINAINS WOULD CHOOSE A LINKAGE WITH JORDAN AND THE SHAH MADE CLEAR HIS PREFERENCE FOR SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT.

8. THE CODEL GAINED A BETTER APPRECIATION FOR SAUDI ARABIA'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE EQUATION AND IN CONTROLLING WORLD OIL PRICES AND SUPPLY. EVEN THOSE MOST STRONGLY OPPOSED TO A POSSIBLE F-15 SALE CAME AWAY WITH SHAKEN CONVICTIONS. ONE OPPONENT SAID TO ME PRIVATELY: QUOTE THE CROWN PRINCE ASKED THE \$64 QUESTION ON THE F-15: "ARE YOU OUR FRIENDS OR NOT?" UNQUOTE. A STRONG CONSENSUS IN FAVOR OF THE SALE WAS EVIDENT.

9. IN SUM, THIS CODEL, ONE OF THE LARGEST TO TRAVEL TO THE MIDDLE EAST, COULD HAVE GREAT IMPACT ON CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC OPINION ON KEY ISSUES. THEY HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY HARD WORKING AND HAVE CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH IN THIS AREA AND TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING BY FOREIGN GOVTS OF U.S. CONGRESS. YOUR COMPLIMENTS FOR THEIR EFFORTS WOULD BE MOST APPRECIATED.

10. AS A REMINDER, FOLLOWING ARE MEMBERS AND STAFF WITH WHOM YOU
WILL BE MEETING:

DEMOCRATS: CLEMENT ZABLOCKI, DANTE FASCELL, JONATHAN BINGHAM, LEO
RYAN, HELEN MEYNER, DON PEASE, JOHN CAVANAUGH, CHRIS DODD;

REPUBLICANS: BILL BROOMFIELD, PAUL FINDLEY, LARRY WINN, SHIRLEY
PETTIS, BEN GILMAN, HERB BURKE, DEL CLAWSON;

STAFF: JACK BRADY, GEORGE BERDES, EVERETT BIERMAN, IVO SPALATIN,
HELEN MATTAS, KEN HARDING (SERGEANT AT ARMS)

1. SUGGEST DEPARTMENT PASS AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV(IMMEDIATE) FOR
AMBASSADOR LEWIS ONLY.
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OC/T NOTE: TELEGRAM UPGRADED TO "NODIS" PER TEHRAN SERVICE
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